

Exhibit A

Expert Report of Dr. Michael P. McDonald

I am Dr. Michael P. McDonald, an Associate Professor of Political Science at the University of Florida. I am widely regarded as a leading expert on United States elections. I have published extensively on elections in peer-reviewed journals and I produce what many consider to be the most reliable turnout rates of the nation and the states.¹ I have specifically published peer-reviewed articles on the reliability of voter registration files² and matching algorithms as applied to voter registration files.³ In the course of my election work, I consulted for the United States Election Assistance Commission, the Department of Defense's Federal Voting Assistance Program, the Colorado Secretary of State, the Virginia Division of Elections, the media's National Exit Poll organization, the Associated Press, ABC News, and NBC News.

I have testified or submitted expert reports in numerous election-related cases. With respect specifically to voter registration, I was an expert witness for plaintiffs challenging the Kansas requirement for documentary proof of citizenship.⁴ I have been an expert witness in other litigation specifically involving voter registration in Florida⁵ and Washington.⁶ I also have an extensive publishing record and experience testifying in redistricting and other election-related cases. Please see my curriculum vitae for more information.

Plaintiffs' counsel asked me to analyze a list of 120,561 Georgia registered voters who were scheduled to be removed from the voter registration rolls as of December 16, 2019 for the reason of "No Contact" with local election officials. Specifically, Plaintiffs' counsel asked me to:

¹ Michael P. McDonald and Samuel L. Popkin. 2001. "The Myth of the Vanishing Voter." *American Political Science Review* 95(4): 963-974.

² Michael P. McDonald. 2007. "The True Electorate: A Cross-Validation of Voter File and Election Poll Demographics." *Public Opinion Quarterly* 71(4): 588-602.

³ Michael P. McDonald and Justin Levitt. 2008. "Seeing Double Voting: An Extension of the Birthday Problem." *Election Law Journal* 7(2): 111-22.

⁴ *Fish v. Kobach*, No. 2:16-cv-02105 (D. Kan.).

⁵ *League of Women Voters of Florida v. Browning*, No. 1:08-cv-21243 (S.D. Fla.).

⁶ *Washington Association of Churches v. Reed*, No. 2:06-cv-000726 (W.D. Wash.).

(1) Identify how many, if any, of those 120,561 Georgia registered voters have voted, registered, or had other contacts with local election officials since each of January 1, 2010; January 1, 2012; and November 6, 2012, according to Georgia's voter records; and

(2) Analyze whether there are any other anomalies in the list of 120,561 Georgia registered voters scheduled to be removed from the rolls.

Plaintiffs' counsel did not ask me to look at this time at additional voters who were scheduled to be removed for other reasons, including a match to the NCOA database or having mail returned as undeliverable.

I am compensated at a rate of \$400/hour for my work on this case.

Data Sources

I examine two data sources in my analysis for this report.

The first data source is an Excel file downloaded from the Georgia Secretary of State's Elections Division webpage entitled "2019 List Maintenance."⁷ The Secretary of State's webpage describes the file as "[t]he list of registrations subject to cancellation."⁸ The file is titled "2019_NGE.xlsx," and, according to its properties, was created on October 30, 2019 at 7:47am by John Hallman and last modified on October 30, 2019 at 11:39am by Kevin Rayburn. I hereafter refer to this Excel file as the "Purge List." This file does not include any changes to the Purge List that the Georgia Secretary of State's office may have implemented following the public disclosure of the list.

The second data source is a Georgia statewide voter registration file generated by the Secretary of State's office on November 15, 2019. I hereafter refer to this file as the "Georgia Registered Voter File."

Scope of Analysis

There are 313,243 voter records in the Purge List. Each voter record is listed as having an "Inactive Reason" of either (a) "Returned Mail," (b) "NCOA," or (c)

⁷ See: *2019 List Maintenance*, Ga. Secretary of St., https://sos.ga.gov/index.php/elections/2019_list_maintenance (last visited Dec. 13, 2019).

⁸ *Id.*

“No Contact.” There are 120,561 out of the 313,243 voter records that have an “Inactive Reason” of “No Contact.”

The Secretary of State’s website describes the 120,561 registered voters represented by these records thusly:

The remaining 120,561, or 38.5 percent, have had no contact with their county election officials since prior to the 2012 presidential election and failed to respond to a confirmation card sent by their county elections office.⁹

I match the Purge List with the Georgia Registered Voter File using the voter registration number common to both datasets. When I do this merge, I find 120,473 records in the Purge List with the same voter registration number in the Georgia Registered Voter File. The difference of 88 records could be due to any number of reasons, the most likely being that state election officials removed these voters from the Georgia Registered Voter File between October 31, 2019 (the last modified date of the Purge List) and November 15, 2019 (the date of the Georgia Registered Voter File).

I restrict my analysis that follows to these 120,473 “No Contact” records in the Purge List that I can match to the Georgia Registered Voter File.

Evidence of Registrants’ Contact with Local Election Officials

The Georgia State Code—Ga. Code Ann. § 21-2-234(a)(1)—defines registered voters as having “No Contact” with election officials as follows:

As used in this Code section and Code Section 21-2-235, the term “no contact” shall mean that the elector has not filed an updated voter registration card, has not filed a change of name or address, has not signed a petition which is required by law to be verified by the election superintendent of a county or municipality or the Secretary of State, has not signed a voter's certificate, has not submitted an absentee ballot application or voted an absentee ballot, and has not confirmed the elector's continuation at the same address during the preceding five calendar years.

The Georgia Registered Voter File provides evidence that some individuals flagged by the Georgia Secretary of State’s office as being on the Purge List for the

⁹ *Id.*

reason of “No Contact” with local election officials have, to the contrary, had some contact.

I examine three pieces of information available from the Georgia Registered Voter File:

- The date a registrant is recorded as having last voted (recorded in a field called DATE_LAST_VOTED)¹⁰
- The date a registrant is recorded as being registered to vote (recorded in a field called REGISTRATION_DATE)
- The date of a registrant’s last contact with election officials (recorded in a field called LAST_CONTACT_DATE).

My analysis of these three key pieces of information is as follows.

Prior Voting Record

In Table 1, I report the number of registered voters on the Purge List who are identified as having “No Contact” with local election officials, and who are recorded in the Georgia Registered Voter File as having voted in any election that occurred January 1, 2010 or later.

Consistent with plaintiffs’ counsel’s instructions, I tally the total number of registered voters on the Purge List who are identified as having “No Contact” with local officials, and who are recorded in the Georgia Registered Voter File as having last voted on January 1, 2010 or later; January 1, 2012 or later; and November 6, 2012 or later. The totals are inclusive, such that the total registrants who voted January 1, 2010 or later includes those who voted in January 1, 2012 or later, and so on.

¹⁰ Given that H.B. 316 added voting an absentee ballot as a type of “contact” under the statute, it is not clear that the Georgia Registered Voter File treated voting an absentee ballot as part of the “last voted” category prior to April 2019.

Election Date Last Voted In (according to Georgia Registered Voter File)	Number of Registrants Listed as "No Contact" in Purge List
<i>2/2/2010</i>	1
<i>3/16/2010</i>	3
<i>4/13/2010</i>	3
<i>5/11/2010</i>	8
<i>6/8/2010</i>	3
<i>7/20/2010</i>	2,154
<i>8/10/2010</i>	942
<i>9/21/2010</i>	9
<i>11/2/2010</i>	28,725
<i>11/30/2010</i>	1,425
<i>2/15/2011</i>	27
<i>3/15/2011</i>	423
<i>4/12/2011</i>	5
<i>6/21/2011</i>	44
<i>7/19/2011</i>	102
<i>8/16/2011</i>	77
<i>9/20/2011</i>	18
<i>10/18/2011</i>	33
<i>11/8/2011</i>	2,106
<i>12/6/2011</i>	72
<i>1/3/2012</i>	1
<i>3/6/2012</i>	3,678
<i>4/3/2012</i>	6
<i>11/6/2012</i>	293
<i>11/5/2019</i>	17
Total 1/1/2010 or later	40,175
Total 1/1/2012 or later	3,995
Total 11/6/2012 or later	310

Table 1. "No Contact" Registrants, Last Election Voted In

These totals are as follows:

- 40,175 “No Contact” registrants last voted in an election held January 1, 2010 or later.
- 3,995 “No Contact” registrants last voted in an election held January 1, 2012 or later. I note that this approximate number of voters—about 4000—were removed from the Purge List before the final purge, according to the *Atlanta Journal-Constitution*.¹¹
- 310 “No Contact” registrants last voted in an election held November 6, 2012 or later. This total includes 293 registrants who the media outlet *APM Reports* identified, and the Georgia Secretary of State verified, were incorrectly identified as “No Contact” due to a data conversion problem from Lowndes County, Georgia.¹²

Date of Registration

In Table 2, I report the number of registered voters on the Purge List who are identified as having “No Contact” with local election officials, and who are recorded in the Georgia Registered Voter File as having a voter registration date of January 1, 2010 or later; January 1, 2012 or later; and November 6, 2012 or later. The totals are inclusive, such that the total registrants who registered January 1, 2010 or later includes those who registered on or after January 1, 2012, and so on.

¹¹ Mark Niese, *Judge Allows Georgia To Purge 309K Voter Registrations Overnight*, *Atlanta Journal-Constitution* (Dec. 16, 2019), <https://www.ajc.com/news/state--regional-govt--politics/judge-allows-georgia-purge-309k-voter-registrations-overnight/fVBSMzCLR7ontBc3RpjyrJ/>.

¹² See: Geoff Hing, *Georgia Nearly Purged Hundreds of Eligible Voters By Mistake*, *APM Rep.* (Nov. 8, 2019), <https://www.apmreports.org/story/2019/11/08/georgia-nearly-purged-hundreds-of-eligible-voters-by-mistake>.

Registration Date (according to Georgia Registered Voter File)	Number of Registrants Listed as “No Contact” in Purge List
Total 1/1/2010 or later	60,415
Total 1/1/2012 or later	12,043
Total 11/6/2012 or later	21

Table 2. “No Contact” Registrants, Registration Date

The totals are as follows:

- 60,415 “No Contact” registrants’ registration date is recorded as January 1, 2010 or later.
- 12,043 “No Contact” registrants’ registration date is recorded as January 1, 2012 or later.
- 21 “No Contact” registrants’ registration date is recorded as November 6, 2012 or later.

Among the 21 registrants whose registration date is January 1, 2012 or later, five have registration dates seemingly *after* the Secretary of State’s office generated the Purge List. One has a registration date of October 30, 2019, two have a registration date of November 11, 2019, and two have a registration date of November 13, 2019. I do not have an explanation for this, as I would expect a registration date to represent the date a registration record was established by Georgia election officials.

Last Contact

The Georgia Registered Voter File has a field labeled LAST_CONTACT_DATE. I am uncertain what information is tracked in this field, as the State’s documentation only identifies the existence of this field. I provide statistics for this field in the event that this field identifies the last contact a registered voter had with local election officials.

In Table 3, I report the number of registered voters on the Purge List who are identified as having “No Contact” with local election officials, and who are

recorded in the Georgia Registered Voter File as having a last contact date of January 1, 2010 or later; January 1, 2012 or later; and November 6, 2012 or later. As before, the totals are inclusive, such that the total registrants who have a last contact of January 1, 2010 or later includes those who are listed as having a last contact date on or after January 1, 2012, and so on.

Last Contact Date (according to Georgia Registered Voter File)	Number of Registrants Listed as “No Contact” in Purge List
Total 1/1/2010 or later	119,997
Total 1/1/2012 or later	22,896
Total 11/6/2012 or later	529

Table 3. “No Contact” Registrants, Last Contact Date

The totals are as follows:

- 119,997 “No Contact” registrants’ last contact date is recorded as January 1, 2010 or later.
- 22,896 “No Contact” registrants’ last contact date is recorded as January 1, 2012 or later.
- 529 “No Contact” registrants’ last contact date is recorded as November 6, 2012 or later.

I conduct forensics work on LAST_CONTACT_DATE to help me form an opinion as to what the field may indicate. I infer a clue as to the purpose of the LAST_CONTACT_DATE from the DATE_LAST_VOTED field. All of the 293 registered voters incorrectly flagged as not voting in the November 6, 2012 by *APM Reports* had their LAST_CONTACT_DATE field updated on November 14, 2019. It appears that on that date an election official changed these voters’ statuses to correct the error of these voters being included on the Purge List. Similarly, election officials updated the LAST_CONTACT_DATE of the 17 registered voters who participated in a November 5, 2019 election in the days immediately following the election.

The LAST_CONTACT_DATE thus appears to capture contacts between registrants and election officials. In these cases of voting, the field is capturing

actions by registered voters that qualify as a contact under Ga. Code Ann. § 21-2-234(a)(1).

Further investigation of daily statistics in the Georgia Registered Voter File reveals that prior to May 27, 2012, election officials were regularly recording on an almost-daily basis batches of last contacts with the registered voters on the Purge List who are identified as having “No Contact” with local election officials. This routine daily activity appears to cease on May 27, 2012. After that date, records of last contact tend to occur on a sporadic basis.

Compiled Figures

In Table 4, I compile the information in Tables 1-3 to provide an inclusive view of the dates of last contact, registration, and most recent election voted in for the registered voters on the Purge List who are identified as having “No Contact” with local election officials.

	Last Contact Date	Registration Date	Election Date Last Voted In
1/1/2010 or later	119,997	60,415	40,175
1/1/2012 or later	22,896	12,043	3,995
11/6/2012 or later	529	21	310

Table 4. “No Contact” Registrants, Relevant Dates Compiled (cross referencing names on Purge List with date information in Georgia Registered Voter File)

In Table 5, I represent the figures contained in Table 4 as a percentage of the total 120,561 registered voters on the Purge List who are identified as having “No Contact” with local election officials.

	Last Contact Date	Registration Date	Election Date Last Voted In
1/1/2010 or later	99.53%	50.11%	33.32%
1/1/2012 or later	18.99%	9.99%	3.31%
11/6/2012 or later	0.44%	0.02%	0.26%

Table 5. “No Contact” Registrants, Relevant Dates as a Percentage of 120,561 Total Registrants (cross referencing names on Purge List with date information in Georgia Registered Voter File)

I declare that the foregoing is true and correct under penalty of perjury. Executed this 18th day of November, 2019, in Gainesville, Florida


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Education

Post-Doctoral Fellow. Harvard University. August 1998 – August 1999.
Ph.D. Political Science. University of California, San Diego. February, 1999.
BS Economics. California Institute of Technology. June, 1989.

Awards

University of Florida Term Professorship. 2019.

Brown Democracy Medal, McCourtney Institute for Democracy at Penn State University. 2018.
Positive impact on democracy for the Public Mapping Project.

Tides Pizzigati Prize. 2013. Public interest software for DistrictBuilder.

Strata Innovation Award. 2012. Data Used for Social Impact for DistrictBuilder.

American Political Science Association, Information and Technology Politics Section. 2012.
Software of the Year for DistrictBuilder.

Politico. 2011. Top Ten Political Innovations for DistrictBuilder.

GovFresh. 2011. 2nd Place, Best Use of Open Source for DistrictBuilder.

Virginia Senate. 2010. Commendation for Virginia Redistricting Competition.

American Political Science Association, Information and Technology Politics Section. 2009.
Software of the Year for BARD.

Publications

Books

Michael P. McDonald. Under Contract. *The Art of Voting*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press.

Michael P. McDonald and Micah Altman. 2018. *The Public Mapping Project: How Public Participation Can Revolutionize Redistricting*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.

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- Michael P. McDonald. 2011. "The 2010 Election: Signs and Portents for Redistricting." *PS: Political Science and Politics* 44(2): 311-15.
- Richard Engstrom and Michael P. McDonald. 2011. "The Political Scientist as Expert Witness." *PS: Political Science and Politics* 44(2): 285-89.
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- Michael P. McDonald and Justin Levitt. 2008. "Seeing Double Voting: An Extension of the Birthday Problem." *Election Law Journal* 7(2): 111-22.
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Michael P. McDonald. 2008. "The Return of the Voter: Voter Turnout in the 2008 Presidential Election." *The Forum* 6(4).

Michael P. McDonald. 2006. "American Voter Turnout: An Institutional Perspective by David Hill (book review)." *Political Science Quarterly* 121(3): 516-7.

Michael P. McDonald. 2006. "Rocking the House: Competition and Turnout in the 2006 Midterm Election." *The Forum* 4(3).

Micah Altman and Michael P. McDonald. 2006. "How to Set a Random Clock (Remarks on Earnest 2006)." *PS: Political Science and Politics* 39(4): 795.

Michael P. McDonald. 2004. "Up, Up, and Away! Turnout in the 2004 Presidential Election." *The Forum* 2(4).

Michael P. McDonald. 2004. "Drawing the Line on the 2004 Congressional Elections." *Legislative Studies Section Newsletter* (Fall): 14-18.

Michael P. McDonald. 2004. "2001: A Redistricting Odyssey." *State Politics and Policy Quarterly* 4(4): 369-370.

Micah Altman and Michael P. McDonald. 1999. "Resources for Testing and Enhancement of Statistical Software" in *The Political Methodologist* 9(1).

Michael P. McDonald. 1999. "Representational Theories of the Polarization of the House of Representatives" in *Legislative Studies Section Newsletter, Extension of Remarks* 22(2): 8-10.

Michael P. McDonald. 2003. "California Recall Voting: Nuggets of California Gold for Political Behavior." *The Forum* 1(4).

Reports

Michael P. McDonald. 2009. "Voter Preregistration Programs." Fairfax, VA: George Mason University.

Michael P. McDonald. 2009. *Midwest Mapping Project*. Fairfax, VA: George Mason University.

Michael P. McDonald and Matthew Thornburg. 2008. "The 2008 Virginia Election Administration Survey." Fairfax, VA: George Mason University.

Kimball Brace and Michael P. McDonald. 2005. "Report to the Election Assistance Commission on the Election Day Survey." Sept. 27, 2005.

Opinion Editorials

Michael P. McDonald. 2019. "Let 16-year-olds vote for L.A. school board." *Los Angeles Times*. May 8, 2019.

Michael P. McDonald. 2018. "I agree with Donald Trump, we should have voter ID. Here's how and why." *USA Today*. Jan. 15, 2018.

Michael P. McDonald. 2017. "The Russians are hacking. Luckily the Trump voter fraud commission isn't in charge." *USA Today*. Sept. 23, 2017.

Michael P. McDonald. 2016. "Better Hope the Election is Not Close." *USA Today*. Nov. 2, 2016.

Michael P. McDonald. 2016. "Blame Government for Voting Crisis." *USA Today*. March 24, 2016.

Michael P. McDonald, Peter Licari and Lia Merivaki. 2015. "The Big Cost of Using Big Data in Elections." *The Washington Post*. Oct. 18, 2015.

- Michael P. McDonald 2013. "Truths and Uncertainties that Surround the 2014 Midterms." *The Hill*. November 5, 2013.
- Michael P. McDonald. 2011. "The Shape of Things to Come: New Software May Help the Public Have a Crucial Redrawing of Voting Districts." *Sojourners*. April 2011: 11-12.
- Micah Altman and Michael P. McDonald. 2011. "Computers: Redistricting Super Hero or Evil Mastermind?" *Campaigns and Elections Magazine*. January 2011.
- Michael P. McDonald. 2010. "Who Voted in 2010, and Why It Matters for 2012." *AOL News*. Nov. 4, 2010.
- Michael P. McDonald and Seth McKee. "The Revenge of the Moderates." *The Politico*. Oct. 10, 2010.
- Michael P. McDonald and Micah Altman. 2010. "Pulling Back the Curtain on Redistricting." *The Washington Post*. July 9, 2010.
- Michael P. McDonald. 2008. "This May Be the Election of the Century." *The Politico*. Sept. 9, 2008.
- Michael P. McDonald. 2008. "Super Tuesday Turned into a Super Flop." *Roll Call*. Feb. 11, 2008.
- Michael P. McDonald. 2006. "5 Myths About Turning Out the Vote." *The Washington Post*. Oct. 29, 2006, p. B3.
- Michael P. McDonald. 2006. "Supreme Court Lets the Politicians Run Wild." *Roll Call*. June 29, 2006.
- Michael P. McDonald. 2006. "Re-Redistricting Redux." *The American Prospect*. March 6, 2006.
- Michael P. McDonald and Kimball Brace. "EAC Survey Sheds Light on Election Administration." *Roll Call*. Oct. 27, 2005.
- Michael P. McDonald. 2004. "The Numbers Prove that 2004 May Signal More Voter Interest." *Milwaukee Journal Sentinel*. Milwaukee, WI.
- Michael P. McDonald. 2004. "Democracy in America?" *La Vanguardia*. Barcelona, Spain.
- Michael P. McDonald. 2003. "Enhancing Democracy in Virginia." *Connection Newspapers*. March 24.
- Michael P. McDonald. 2001. "Piecing Together the Illinois Redistricting Puzzle." *Illinois Issues*. March, 2001.

Samuel Popkin and Michael P. McDonald. 2000. "Turnout's Not as Bad as You Think." *The Washington Post*. Nov. 5: B-1.

Samuel Popkin and Michael P. McDonald. 1998. "Who Votes? A Comparison of NES, CPS, and VNS Polls." *Democratic Leadership Council Bluebook*. Sept., 1998.

Software Packages

Micah Altman, Michael P. McDonald, and Azavea. 2012. "DistrictBuilder." Open source software to enable public participation in redistricting. Source code available at Github. Project website, <http://www.districtbuilder.org>.

Micah Altman and Michael P. McDonald. 2007. "BARD: Better Automated Redistricting." R package available through CRAN. Source code available at Sourceforge.

Micah Altman, Jeff Gill, and Michael P. McDonald. 2004. "Accuracy: Tools for testing and improving accuracy of statistical results." R package available through CRAN.

Grants and Contracts

Election Data Administrative Data Research Facility. (\$843,000) Alfred P. Sloan Foundation grant to collect precinct election results and boundary data and to upgrade DistrictBuilder software.

Virginia Election Data. (\$6,500) Produced election data for *The Washington Post's* 2019 Virginia state elections coverage.

Audit of Assignment of Virginia Registered Voters to Districts. (\$154,000). Work for the Virginia Department of Elections to audit the assignment of registered voters to districts.

National Voter File. (\$125,000) Alfred P. Sloan Foundation grant to pilot the collection of a national voter file for academic and non-partisan purposes.

Pilot Study for Election Data Administrative Data Research Facility. (\$125,000) Alfred P. Sloan Foundation grant to collect precinct election results and boundary data and to upgrade DistrictBuilder software.

Improving Integrity of Voter File Addresses. (\$20,000) Colorado Secretary of State support to develop methods to improve voter file addresses.

Fabricating Precinct Boundaries. (\$17,000). MIT Election Science and Data Lab support to explore fabricating precinct boundaries from geocoded voter files.

UF Informatics Post-Doc Top-Off Award. 2017. (\$16,000). Funding from the UF Informatics Institute to provide additional post-doc funding in support of Hewlett Foundation grant.

U.S. Election Project. 2016. (\$50,000). Hewlett Foundation support for U.S. Election Project Activities.

UF Informatics Institute Seed Fund Award. 2016. (\$48,000). Project funded by the UF Informatics Institute to explore the reliability of Florida's voter registration file.

Election Forum. 2016. (\$20,000). Project funded by the Pew Charitable Trusts for an election forum held at the University of Florida.

Survey of Voter File Accessibility. 2016. (\$1,650). Contract from the Institute for Money in State Politics to survey costs and accessibility of states' voter files.

Florida Election Reform. 2015. (\$13,000). Project funded by Democracy Fund for an election reform forum held in Tallahassee, FL. Pew Charitable Trusts independently provided travel support for some speakers.

New York Redistricting. 2011. (\$379,000). Project funded by the Sloan Foundation to provide for public redistricting in New York and continued software development.

Citizen Redistricting Education, Software Supplemental. 2011. (\$50,000). Project funded by Joyce Foundation to provide continued redistricting software development for use by advocacy groups in six Midwestern states.

National Redistricting Reform Coordination. 2009-10. (\$100,000). With Thomas Mann and Norman Ornstein. Project funded by Joyce Foundation to support coordination of national redistricting reform efforts by the Brookings Institution and the American Enterprise Institute.

Citizen Mapping Project. 2009-10. (\$124,000 & \$98,000). With Micah Altman, Thomas Mann, and Norman Ornstein. Project funded by the Alfred P. Sloan Foundation. An award to George Mason University enables development of software that, essentially, permits on-line redistricting through commonly used internet mapping programs. A second award to the Brookings Institution and American Enterprise Institute provides organizational support, including the convening of an advisory board.

Citizen Redistricting Education. 2010. (\$104,000). Project funded by the Joyce Foundation. Provides for redistricting education forums in five Midwestern state capitals in 2010 and other continuing education efforts.

Pre-Registration Programs. 2008-9. (\$86,000). Project funded by the Pew Charitable Trusts' Make Voting Work Initiative to examine pre-registration programs (voter registration for persons under age 18) in Florida and Hawaii.

Sound Redistricting Reform. 2006-9. (\$405,000). Project funded by the Joyce Foundation, conducted jointly with the Brennan Center for Justice at NYU to investigate impacts of redistricting reform in Midwestern states.

Electoral Competition Project. 2005-6. (\$200,000) Project funded by The Armstrong Foundation, the Carnegie Corporation of New York, the JEHT Foundation, The Joyce Foundation, The Kerr Foundation, Inc., and anonymous donors. Jointly conducted by the Brookings Institution and Cato Institute to investigate the state of electoral competition in the United States.

George Mason University Provost Summer Research Grant. 2004. (\$5,000).

ICPSR Data Document Initiative. 1999. Awarded beta test grant. Member, advisory committee on creation of electronic codebook standards.

Academic Experience

Courses Taught: Election Data Science (graduate and undergraduate), Election Law, Public Opinion and Voting Behavior, Parties and Campaigns (graduate and undergraduate), Comparative Electoral Institutions, Introduction to American Politics, American Politics Graduate Field Seminar, Congress, Legislative Politics, Research Methods (undergraduate), Advanced Research Methods (graduate), Freshman Seminar: Topics in Race and Gender Policies, and Legislative Staff Internship Program.

University of Florida

- Associate Professor. August 2014- Present.

George Mason University

- Associate Professor. May 2007 – May, 2014.
- Assistant Professor. Aug 2002 – May, 2007.

The Brookings Institution

- Non-Resident Senior Fellow. January 2006 – June 2016.
- Visiting Fellow. June 2004 – December 2006.

University of Illinois, Springfield. Assistant Professor. Aug 2000 – June 2002.
Joint appointment in Political Studies Department and Legislative Studies Center.

Vanderbilt University. Assistant Professor. Aug 1999 – Aug 2000.

Harvard-MIT Data Center. Post-Doctoral Research Fellow. Sept. 1998 – Aug 1999.
Developed Virtual Data Center, a web-based data sharing system for academics. Maintained Record of American Democracy (U.S. precinct-level election data).

University of California-San Diego

- Assistant to the Director for University of California, Washington DC program. Sept 1997 – June 1998.
- Instructor for research methods seminar for UCSD Washington interns.
- Visiting Assistant Professor. Spring Quarter 1997.
- Visiting Assistant Professor. Summer Session, Aug 1996 and Aug 1997.
- Teaching Assistant/Grader. Aug 1991 – March 1997.

Professional Service

National Academy of Sciences, Member, Program Committee for “Workshop on 2020 Census Data Products: Data Needs and Privacy Considerations.”

Non-Profit Voter Engagement Network, Member, Advisory Board. 2007 – present.

National States Geographic Information Council - Geo-Enabled Elections, Member, Circle of Advisors. 2018 – present.

Election Sciences Conference-in-a-conference at the 207 Southern Political Science Association Conference. Organizer. 2016.

Overseas Vote Foundation, Member, Advisory Board. 2005 – 2013.

National Capital Area Political Science Association, Member, Council, 2010 – 2012.

State Politics and Policy Quarterly, Editorial Board Member 2004-2011.

Virginia Public Access Project, Member, Board of Directors. 2004 – 2006.

Fairfax County School Board Adult and Community Education Advisory Committee, Member. 2004 – 2005.

State Politics and Policy Quarterly, Guest Editor. Dec 2004 issue.

Related Professional Experience

Media Consultant

- Edison Media Research/Mitofsky International. Nov. 2018; Nov. 2004; Nov. 2006; Feb. 2008; Nov. 2008. Worked national exit polling organization's “Decision Desk.”
- Associated Press. Nov. 2016 and Nov. 2010. Worked “Decision Desk.”
- ABC News. Nov. 2002. Worked “Decision Desk.”
- NBC News. Aug 1996. Analyzed polls during the Republican National Convention.

Redistricting/Elections Consultant.

- Consultant. 2019. Virginia Division of Elections. Audited the assignment of registered voters to districts.
- Expert Witness. 2018. *Georgia Coalition for the Peoples’ Agenda, Inc. et. al v. Kemp*. No. 1:18-cv-04727-ELR (N.D. Ga.)
- Expert Witness. 2018. *Martin v. Kemp*. Civil Action No. 1:18-cv-04776-LMM.
- Expert Witness. 2018. *Georgia Coalition for the Peoples’ Agenda, Inc. v. Kemp*. Civil Action No. 1:18-cv-04727-ELR.

- Expert Witness. 2018. *Common Cause Indiana v. Lawson*. Case No. 1:17-cv-3936-TWP-MPB (Indiana).
- Expert Witness. 2017-18. *Benisek v. Lamone*. Case No. 13-cv-3233 (Maryland).
- Expert Witness. 2016-2017. *Vesilind v. Virginia State Board of Elections*. Case No. CL15003886 (Virginia).
- Expert Witness. 2016-2017. *Fish v. Kobach*. Case No. 2:16-cv-02105 (Kansas).
- Expert Witness. 2016. *Arizona Libertarian Party v. Reagan*. Case No.: 2:16-cv-01019-DGC (Arizona).
- Expert Witness. 2016. *Georgia State Conf. of the NAACP, et al. v. Brian Kemp*. Case No. 2:16-cv-00219-WCO (Georgia).
- Consultant. Federal Voting Assistance Program. 2014-2015. Analyzed voting experience of military and overseas voters.
- Expert Witness. 2013-2014. *Page v. Virginia State Board of Elections*. No. 3:13-cv-678 (E.D.VA).
- Expert Witness. 2013-2014. *Delgado v. Galvin*. (D. MA).
- Beaumont Independent School District. 2013. Prepared response to DOJ data request.
- Federal Voting Assistance Program. 2012-13. Analyzed voting experience of military and overseas voters.
- Gerson Lehrman Group. 2012. Provided election analysis to corporate clients.
- Expert Witness. 2011-2012. *Backus v. South Carolina*. No. 3:11-cv-03120 (D.S.C.).
- Expert Witness. 2012. *Wilson v. Kasich*. No. 2012-0019 (Ohio Sup. Ct.).
- Consulting Expert. 2011-2012. Bondurant, Mixson, and Elmore, LLP. (Review of Georgia's state legislative and congressional redistricting Section 5 submission).
- Consultant. 2012. New Jersey Congressional Redistricting Commission.
- Expert Witness. 2011. *Perez v. Texas*. No. 5:11-cv-00360 (W.D. Tex.).
- Expert Witness. 2011. *Wilson v. Fallin*. No. O-109652 (Okla. Sup. Ct.).
- Consultant. 2011. United States Federal Voting Assistance Program.
- Consultant. 2011. Virginia Governor's Independent Bipartisan Advisory Redistricting Commission.
- Consultant. 2011. New Jersey State Legislative Redistricting Commission.
- Expert Witness. 2010. *Healey v. State, et al.* C.A. No. 10-316--S (USDC-RI).
- Research Triangle Institute. 2008-2009. Consultant for Election Assistance Commission, 2008 Election Day Survey.
- U.S. State Department. 2008. Briefed visiting foreign nationals on U.S. elections.
- Expert Witness. 2008. *League of Women Voters of Florida v. Browning* (08-21243-CV-ALTONAGA/BROWN)
- Pew Center for the States. 2007. Consultant for Trends to Watch project.
- Expert Witness. 2007. *Washington Association of Churches v. Reed* (CV06-0726).
- Electoral Assistance Commission. 2005. Analyzed election administration surveys.
- Arizona Independent Redistricting Commission. 2001-2003. Consultant.
- Expert Witness. 2003. *Minority Coalition for Fair Redistricting, et al. v. Arizona Independent Redistricting Commission* CV2002-004380 (2003).
- Expert Witness. 2003. *Rodriguez v. Pataki* 308 F. Supp. 2d 346 (S.D.N.Y 2004).

- Consulting Expert. 2002. *O'Lear v. Miller* No. 222 F. Supp. 2d 850 (E.D. Mich.).
- Expert Witness. 2001-2002. *In Re 2001 Redistricting Cases* (Case No. S-10504).
- Expert Witness. 2001. *United States v. Upper San Gabriel Valley Municipal Water District* (C.D. Cal. 2000).
- California State Assembly. 1991. Consultant.
- Pactech Data and Research. Research Associate. Aug 1989 - June 1991.

Campaign/Political Consultant.

- Ron Christian for Virginia State Senate. June – November, 2003.
- Theresa Martinez for Virginia House of Delegates. May, 2003.
- Senior Consultant. California State Assembly. Nov. – Dec 1998.
- California Assembly Democrats. June – November 1998.
- Susan Davis & Howard Wayne for CA State Assembly '96. 1996.
- Intern. June – Sept 1995. UC-San Diego, Science and Technology Policy and Projects.

Polling Consultant.

- Hickman-Brown. July, 2000. Analyzed national and state level exit and CPS polls for use in various campaigns. Analyzed surveys for congressional, state, and local political campaigns.
- Decision Research. Aug 1994 – Dec 1994. Conducted and analyzes surveys for congressional and statewide campaigns.
- Speaker Jose de Venecia of the Philippines. Feb, 1997.
- Joong-Ang Ilbo/RAND. Oct, 1996. Analyzed survey of Korean attitudes on national security issues.
- UCSD. Nov. 1991. Conducted and analyzed survey of student attitudes.